

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecuitli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecuitli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecuitli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecuitli. And others named Huipapaseca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Cuatonli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaccuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moteczuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moteczuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moteczuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the god-de] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moteczuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco, vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecuitli naujntin. Injc ce ytoca, xoxouhqui xiuhtecuitli. Injc vme coçauhqui. Injc ey iztac xiuhtecuitli. Injc nauj tlathuhqui xiuhtecuitli: yotl oc cequjntin intoa, ihuipapaseca, temilolca: auh tlazelpamijuija, yn jtoca catca cuatonli, no izhoatl ytoca nancotlaccuhqui.

Auh yn onmijocac, njman ie ic oalquija, in Motecucuma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixquih tlacatl mitotia, te. . . cania in motecucuma, quiniacanaia, in nepapá teteu. Auh yn onnetotilo: yn onnetocotolo, njmā ie ic tlenamaca yn motecucuma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhlica.

Coatlan.

In coatlan, vncan miquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: ayo yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhlica.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan miquja in jatac cinteotli, yoan tlathuhqui cinteotli, yoan no izhoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oomijic atla tonan: njman ye ic quixipeoa: auh in jquac oconixipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaquizaia yn jienain.

Auh in jquac otlatuhje: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaquijicac in jienain atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhlica, ipan in ochpaniztli.

Iopicalco, yoan euacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan euacalco, vncan onoca in anaoc tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmavistiliaia in Motecucuma, vncan qujntlahtiaia: qujnmacacia in tlacotilmatl, anoço tlacotcostl, anoço tlacotmacuxitli: in ie ixquih tlacotli, muchi qujnmacacia.

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561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so
that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.¹¹

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they
stored all the food.

Pedacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried
maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins;
more than two thousand [measures of] grains of
dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And
in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chia, ama-
ranth seeds, wrinkled chia, salt jars, coarse salt, bas-
kets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large
squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
wooden cage,¹² where they imprisoned and confined
evildoers.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
house of the majordomos and stewards.

651 Calpixcalli¹³ or Texancalli: there assembled all the
majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
681 lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he
344 require something, or] to bring down and put in
order that which was their trust as tributes, [and
there they arranged in order the various foods]
which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler
knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of
something he stole from the tributes; or that all his
charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct
count when all his store was tallied and examined;
then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he
exactied the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out
his women [and his children from his home]. Then
quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up,
and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged
to the ruler.

565 Coscalli: there were established all the lords from
everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
574 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them
431 all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech
344 cloths, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone
lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone
bracelets.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtou inij-
quijpiala in jxquich qualonj.

Pedacalco, vncan mopiala, in jxquich qualonj, in
tlaolli, injc mopiala quauhuexcomatl, amo can
macujiltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxihuatli, in
jtzetson altepetl, ioan quauhuexcomatca mamanca
in etl, in chian, in cauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacmijtl,
istaxalli, chilpetlatl, aicocahpetlatl, quauhuacochtli:
ioan vncan mopiala in teipilcalli, quauhuacalli, in
vncan quijmijpiala, quincalcaquaia tlacaloan.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncá mjtou: in
inchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncá cenquijpiala: in jxquich
calpixqui, ioan tequitqui, vncan tepcanoaia injc. [qui-
tlatolchixticatea tlatoani, aco tlein quinequiza, aco]
tlein quijtemoa quijcencauhicatea, in tlein inpiel
tlacalaquilli, [yoan vncan quicencuixtlaya y nepa-
pan tlacualli,] in momoztla quijmacaia tlatoan.
Auh itla tlatoan, itla quijmachili, ce calpixqui, aco
itla quijnacalchioa tlacalaquilli: ioan in jxquich in
ipiel, in tlacalaquilli: acapomo caci in tlapoztlatli: in
jcoac mopoa, mocaitoca, in jxquich in ipiel: nijman
quauhuacalco quijtlalia, in calpixqui: quijzacutitub,
mijqui, nijman quijquixtia, in jcoahoa [yoan in
ipilhoan yn ichan]: nijman iquibca motzauca, in jcal
calpixqui ioan in jxquich in jlatqui, caltic omoc:
moch itech compoi tlatoan.

Coscalli vncan tepcanoaia, in jxquichtin, noujian
tlatoque: in jicnjoan tlatoan, ioan in jxquichtin,
iauboa tlatoque: quijmacaia, quijtlahuaia, in
jxquich tlaotli, in tlaotilmatl, in tlaomaxtlatl, in
teucujtlatemtl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuh-
teititl, in chalchiuhcomatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the first *Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the Florence Codex. (See Appendix A.)

12. Teipilcalli, *quicetli*: Ortaño y Garro, op. cit., t. pp. 343-349, writes: "Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teipilcalli, lugar de preso, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca lealtad; el cuauhtli, casa de esclavos, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaban los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio."

13. In the first *Academia de la Historia* MS, these passages appear which are not in the Florentine Codex. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here recorded in brackets.

Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, ⁶⁴⁸ not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, ⁴³⁹ for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being ⁵⁷⁴ the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers. ⁶⁰⁷ 51

note (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 90), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was voluntary (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Historia des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 306. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 336, 337, 338. Cap. XXIX, pp. 341-343. Cap. XXX, p. 350. "Storia de Mesoico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

"Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Montezuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,000 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 334, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, ⁷⁹⁶ at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had to *entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 178 and 179. Cap. XXIII, p. 193. The chiefs of Tezcoco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("fueron aposentados en las casas reales"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416-421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholulan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("en su mismo palacio real"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tesosomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 23. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como a tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necesario para las vueltas de sus tierras con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendoles en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: *Honrarlos cada día al palacio que constan con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 63). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 130).

174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
 344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own
 area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior
 business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own
 chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hos-
 pitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions,
 necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the
 rest of the buildings.⁵²

[344] The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
 574 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
 643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
 651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent.

But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*,
 this became impossible with the increase of public business, and
 the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children
 and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the
 duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin*.
 This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration
 for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in
 regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase
 of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner
 became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of
 the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the
 visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses
 were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of
 which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official
 purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by
 the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was
 introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] "These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca" were the
private palaces, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official build-
 ings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each cal-
 pulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization
 of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp: 103 and 104. What distinguished these con-
 structions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the
 "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 213.
 Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 58). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called
 "palace" of Palenque in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc." p. 62).
 "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food
 and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII,
 p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the
 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that
 kind.

This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who 643
daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals 644
to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon 647
the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in
separate, even secluded, quarters.³⁴³ But their main duty con-

³⁴³ Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301, as copied in note 335). Zurita ("Rapport," etc., p. 96): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutitlatoa") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by Tzucumoc ("Crónica," Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men." "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, temiéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarlos cada día al palacio que comían con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consejeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas, — a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans, — where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzahnuitl, tecutlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente llevándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzándolo a comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comila, etc., etc. . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," etc., p. 40), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Entre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux-ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that Gomara (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I. p. 35), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traían de comer al dicho Motecuzuma, asimismo lo traían a todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto a su persona, y también a los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Había cotidianamente la dispensa y botillería abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of Bernal Díaz ("Hist. verd." Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 26 and 27). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by Zurita (p. 96), Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), Mendicota (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traíanles algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 322): "Estos Jueces oían de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Días a mañana, y tarde, . . . asistían en sus Salas, que les havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, . . ." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 226): "No sólo tenía este Grande, y Magnífico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosos, para su Morada, para sus Consejos, y Señores, y toda la demás Gente, que llegaba a ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ." also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 420). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," headchief of Texcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 157): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, así para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario a todos los que servían en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comían en su Casa, cada Día, . . ." Petrus Martyr of Angiera ("De novo Orbe," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). Clarifera (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 426), about Texcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 204). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "Codex Mendoza" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "Popol Vuh" (p. 305): "Are qui cuxbal quib xi-xib chi nim-ha u bi caxmal, chiri cat chi c'nqah-vi c'nqutya, . . ."

⁶⁴³ assisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of ⁶⁴⁴ which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.³⁴³ It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,³⁴⁴ and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

⁵⁷⁴ That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 308): "Había otra sala que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . ."; "Códice Ramírez" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viesen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII, p. 347): "Fasting child" of Texcoco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores. . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesia se hizo que al de Texcoco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Nequaupilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenían aparejado un retretamiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 459, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. LXIV, pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 131), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Texcoco), *Torguemade* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 334 and 335). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun—"a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Cayapa," etc., etc., Lib. III, cap. XV, p. 135): Y como en aquel tiempo no aña meones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que aña se recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 136 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

³⁴³ Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal díaz de Castillo* ("Hist. verdadera," etc., etc., Cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II), *Andrés de Tópica* ("Relacion sobre la Conquista de México," Col. de Doc's II, p. 361). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("Montezuma's Dinner" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

³⁴⁴ I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan Melvor by its chief "Yergas Melvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

back to the "chief of men."²⁵⁸ In case delegates arrived from⁶⁴³ other tribes, they had to be provided with lodgings. The "tecpan" was the place reserved for that purpose, and there they were accordingly quartered. They, consequently, first came into contact with the "chief of men," who was, officially, "mine host" for them, and who acted as intermediate between them and the supreme tribal authorities.²⁵⁹

No more striking illustrations of the foregoing can be found⁶⁴³ than the reception, by the Mexicana, of Cortés and his troops, at⁵⁷⁴ the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The house where the Spaniards were quartered was the "tecpan" or official house of the tribe, vacated by the official household for that purpose.²⁶⁰ In sallying forth to

In addition to these authorities I add in a general way, *Torguemade* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 337). This author has evidently either copied from, or at least used the same sources as *Frey Geronimo de Mendocino* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129). My learned and highly esteemed friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, ascribes to the statements of both authors "a common origin" i. e. "Tabla de Correspondencias," (p. 38). This common source, however, is found in *Barba* ("Support," etc., pp. 118 and 119). From whom he, in turn, derived his information, has not as yet been ascertained.

²⁵⁸ See the authors quoted above. Also *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 502).

²⁵⁹ This follows from the facts already proven in regard to the duties of the "chief of men" as head of the official household. I would particularly refer to *Tzucumoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XCIV, pp. 173 and 173).

²⁶⁰ "*Códice Ramírez*" (p. 57): "y con esto el gran Motecucuzuma, por el mismo orden que vino se volvió con el capitán Don Hernando Cortés, al qual y á los suyos mandó que aposentasen en las casas reales, donde se le dio muy buen recaudo á cada uno, segun las calidades de las diversas gentes que iban con el capitán El día siguiente el capitán Don Hernando Cortés hizo juntar á Motecucuzuma, etc., etc. . . . en una pieza que en la casa había muy á propósito para esto." . . . ; (p. 58): "Porque acabada de hacer esta plática el buen capitán Don Hernando Cortés, los soldados saquearon las casas reales, y las demás principales donde sentían que había riquezas En este tiempo recelándose el Marqués no resultase desto algun inconveniente prendió al gran Rey Motecucuzuma, poniéndole con grillos, y á buen recaudo en las casas reales junto á su mismo aposento . . . ;" (p. 59): "comenzaron á pelear con los españoles con tal furia que los hicieron retraer á las casas reales donde estaban aposentados." This is plain enough. It is commonly stated that the Spaniards were quartered at a great house belonging formerly to "Wrathy Chief's" father, "Face in the Water." The anonymous "*Fragmento No. 2*" (p. 130) has the following: "apartando la gente hasta que llegaron al palacio Real que había sido de su padre de Motecucuzuma Axayacatzin, y entrando en una gran sala en donde tenía Motecucuzuma su estado, se sentó y á su derecha mano á Cortés, y hizo asellas Cacama que se apartasen todos y diesen orden en aposentar los cristianos y amigos que traían en aquellos grandes palacios" This anonymous fragment is evidently of Tescucan origin. *Salazar* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI, p. 24): "Luego D. Hernando Cortés tomó por la mano á Moctecucuzuma, y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales;" (Cap. XVII, p. 25): "De que los Españoles llegaron á las casas reales con Moctecucuzuma, luego le detuvieron consigo;" (Cap. XXI, p. 28): "Como comenzó la guerra entre los Indios y las Españoles, estos se fortificaron en las casas reales con el mismo Moctecucuzuma" (Id. p. 29, Cap. XXIII, p. 31, etc., etc.). These statements are very positive, and the less suspicious, since they represent traditions from three different sources, all evidently furnished by eye-witnesses, namely: *Mexico* ("Cod. Ramírez"),

643 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as
574 the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tecuacan (Fragment No. 2) and Tlatilulcan (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y tornó á seguir por ó la calle en la forma ya dicha. hasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenía para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("Carta Tercera," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia flos poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes, que un principe con mas de seiscientos personas de su casa y servicio se podían aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenía en ellas Muteczuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes había." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientos personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("Carta Segunda," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban Y los serridores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. Andrés de Tápia ("Relacion," etc., p. 379): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los ídolos, é en este patio habie salas asaz grandes donde enpierson toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habian llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Hernán Días de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella season tenía el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de ídolos"

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "teopan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, Ordoñez (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500) mentions also: "aposentó así é á los chripetlanos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 404) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 507) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

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Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Memoir á Hernán Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazabalcoeta, Vol. II, pp. 23 and 26). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1588, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Ixtapalapa, é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Traxillo, é de Martín López, carpintero; é por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodriguez, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: é la casa vieja que era

courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests.⁶⁴³ Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another⁵⁷⁴ of the large communal buildings surrounding the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.³⁶¹ His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.³⁶²

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecutli" towards⁶⁴³ the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.³⁶³ Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.³⁶⁴ He ex-

de Montezuma, donde vivia, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pedro Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, é de Zamudio."

From these data it is easy to recognize in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Texozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto adonde fueron las casas de Alonso de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to Ixtabalceta ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonso de Avila estaba en la la calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diaz mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

³⁶¹This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

³⁶²That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by Bernal Diaz de Castillo (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 369). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

³⁶³Durán (Cap. XLIII, p. 247). Zurita ("Rapport," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 98 and 99). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 128). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

³⁶⁴See note 4. Fragmento No. 3, in "Biblioteca Mexicana" (pp. 142 and 143).



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Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

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For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].¹ Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.²

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And thereupon also went the chocolate³ server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

Injc cempoalli on caxtollí oca capítalo: yitccha datoa yn juh mocoonotzta, yon in juh catca titecpáti, yon in juh tlaounia.

Auh in tlaconotzalti, ie cucl it, nequequepale in coame, netéco, calaca, thiznelivi, tlaomoina, ne-xopololo, neixnamamico, thixtomaca, tilitacivi, ycio-oa, neterequipacholo,

cecentlamáti ipá neyhuquetzalo, neterequimaco, iacatziuh, in tryimacac, tryimaco, tryicilo, yictatilo, njmá contoquilia yn tesochimacac, tesochiria, tesochimaca, conteaquis in icpacxochitl in xochicocatl, teicpacxochitia, tesochicocastia, teixpámoenmana yn jicaxitl, tlachichinalotoc, tlancotoc, tlanecco, tlaixiatoc, tlavevintoc:

auh njmá ie ic itzih in tetlamacac, qujnocativ, in tetlanamjculique, in tlanapaloque, tetlamaca, tetipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmá ie ic tlaqualo, achtopa, oniatlatiaça, çatepá netlacavilo, ic tlaquanja ynetlavicalhoá:

auh njmá ie no ic itzih in teamacaç, çan ie no ivi tetvipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiaç quincaca, vel mixpetzta, contetequiliuh in aquavil, ynjc moncha cacmoat, ic abatlao, teatlacavilo, qujmatlacavja, in tetlavicalhoá, in viconj, in tlaçaoaj, in quitquij netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "mas que consumiese a comer: las comidades, lo comido que los señes puestas: traxeron un bocado de la comida, y arrojandolo al suelo: a honra del dios Tlalocotli."

2. Ibid.: "los servidores de la comida . . . trayen comida a cada uno, segun su comida [sic]: y la ponen delante, del que antes mandaron: con orden de chiquipotes, con diversos maneras de pan: y parados en las chiquipotes: otros señes cascos, con diversos maneras de comida, con carne, o pescado. . . . Arrojando comida, danan las sobras a los criados, y tambien los cascos, y chiquipotes."

3. *Del* la semolina used to make chocolate. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Molandin version), "Beber agua, vino o cacao, u. celi."

● 574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the
851 leavings.⁴

Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.⁵ Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them⁶ and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.⁷ In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,⁸ which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congregated.
851 They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.⁹

[554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;¹⁰ those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

vnā achitzinca ompacnotoc, nepielotoc, vellamachotoc in nepielotān, in teconotzelotān: auh in cequin in amo cenca tlavelmatl, vellamatl, movelmatl, yn atica, tlaqualtica, tochtinca, yietica et.¹¹ çan motlavellaloa, moquetztetoc, moquetztiquica, cholotetoc, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlātlatotivi, popolocativī, tlātetotivī, tlātlānauhtivī, tlānauhtivī, tlānauhpacivī, ic callatēpachotēcate, moxiçotēcate, yn omotlatilo inçā, yn jncaliōc: auh in tla ottoque in iuh oquique, in çan oqualantique, quin imutlatioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjçiana, qujniolotēja, in iquac ic apecalco, inca nechiālo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzotlatolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, neçpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcozpanj, chiltēcpimpanj, chilchopanj, aioaçchpanj,

auh yn oinac in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlātlāoana, mohololoa, mocentlalia, ymçpan quiaolquetza yn in tlaçanaia, yn jroca xochcomitl, yōā yn in tlaçancax, in jtetlāoā, in tetlamamaçonj,

açto iē vmpoa in tetlāoanti, in tetlamamacac, nīmā ie ic iauh yn jiaçac, in tlaiaçac, yn jiaçioçā, ic tēvipātivh, tēcepilōtiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlaçuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quiaoltecatimān in vetli, aço itzavetli, anoço avitli, tlaçhioalvetli, yn otalilōc ochichioaloc ic pillāoanox, ontlaçaçaco in xiaicomicj, in ocomicj, in tlatemovilcomicj,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagun, in the corresponding text, writes: "y las robres del cargo, danan a sus criados." See n. 2.

5. The term is apparently incompletely converted to read *disappacivī*; cf. Real Palacio MS.

6. Cf. *ceppa qujnmaca* in *ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "a este día llamaron, apertado: porque en el, se acabaron todos el comidos." Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagun (Guthrie, ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 23, 24, it is referred to as "acabados a lo que comen comido y bebido."

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Communities," p. 91 (*chianpinolli*).

9. In the Real Palacio MS, *yn tlāoanotl*, y *otlāoanotl* *tlāoanotl* *otlāoanotl*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "haciendo de agua, y miel comido, con la ropa: al qual llamaron apertado, que quiere decir, palero de agua: lo qual se usaba apertado, y guardado el resto del comido: se algunas días antes." See also Covadonga Góngora de Lima: *El maguayo y el palero en las celdas monásticas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), *passim*, and *op. cit.* pp. 167 ff.

And the wine server, if he saw that those whom he gave wine did not become intoxicated and in a stupor, but only sat staring and grimacing, once again turned to the left, made a beginning from the left—that is, beginning where he had left off, with those of last place, the lesser in rank. So at that place he made a beginning in order to make them drunk. Thus he went reversing and rearranging the process of making them drunk.

So there was singing: there were songs of sadness and tears; or only broken singing, each one as he liked, each outdoing the others. There was the giving of pleasure, of much contentment. There was the encouragement of one another, and tearful greetings. And some only hummed, singing secretly, or did nothing. And some did nothing else but sit content and rejoicing, laughing and making witty remarks, making others burst into laughter as if their sides were sore. They sat exhausted with mirth¹¹ if they heard something which moved them to or diverted them with laughter. It was as if dogs were barking.¹²

Just so was it done at banquets and feasting, and assemblages and gatherings of people, and their recreation and the giving of dances, etc., when someone had a feast for the child to place it in the cradle, and the place where he was put in the cradle was watched.

auh in tetlaocantl inla quimjitta quintlaocantia, yn amo ivintl, in amo jamanja, in can itztoque, ispe-
iontoque, ie no cuetl it copuchilochtia, tlapuchcopa
quipeoaltia. q. n. in vncil oquicauh, in tlatzaccan, in
tlacuitlapilco, ie nē vncan quipeoaltia, ynjc tetlama-
maca, ynjc tetlaocantia, ie quicueptiuh, quipapatlatiuh
in inetlaotliliz:

ie necuicatllo, netlaoculcujcatilo, nechoquizeuca-
tilo, anoço can cuicacacamolo, no çac tle quena, ne-
cujcapanaulo, necemeltilo, necemeltilo, neellaqua-
oalo, nechoquiztlapalolo, auh in aca can tētencuica-
tica, yhichtacajucatica, aiaç ica quichiuhitica: auh
cequjn can quixcavia in pactoque, im papactoque,
vetetzatoque, camanatoque, vetzquiztequittoque,
iuhqujn inxillā quaquauhtl, ommimjctoque in ve-
utzca, yn onoitla quicacque, in tevetzquiti, tevetz-
quiceuh, iuhqujn tlananalco.

Oyvin in muchioia coaiotl in teconotzaliztli, in
teçtlaliztli, tenechicoliztli, teceviliztli, teitotiliztli.
et.^a Yn iquac aca quitlaqualiaia in piltzintli, ynjc tla-
coçolaquja, tlaçoçolaquiloian nepielo.

11. *Vanities in the Red Palace MS.*

12. *Flaming caters in idid.*

[p. 120 is blank]



57N Thirty-seventh Chapter, in which is mentioned how the festivity was performed; and how the rulers and merchants of old provided banquets, even as to this day they have been doing.

57N And the manner of doing nowadays: when one holdeth a banquet for the sake of his child, so it is said, they baptize; the head is washed; food is given: So was it done; just so were guests procured and invited; [as] in other banquets were the distribution and the seating according to rank.

57N So here a little is divulged of the invitation to banquet. But among the rulers, the princes and noblemen, those of illustrious lineage, or when somewhere riches and wealth had been procured, then there was avarice, among the merchants of Pochtlan, [or among the artisans, the craftsmen,]¹ the skilled workers, by each group separately there was bringing of goods according to custom; guests were procured, wealth was procured, and there were invitations.

When somewhere there was great congregating, there was indeed trampling, shoving, and crowding. Entry was impossible. There was no recognition of the invited guests. Indeed, there was trampling, crowding, jostling, and shoving to one side. Nowhere were available seating places, spaces to occupy, or seats to use.²

However, it was the task, concern, and charge especially of the attendants, those who greeted [the guests] — their great concern — to search and watch well. [The host] commissioned them each as servants, officials, and servitors, so that they could look with care to recognise one, no matter from where the banquet guests, those bidden to the feast, the invited ones, had come.

57N These ascertained well what could be done for them, so that they might be well received, and that, in the distribution of goods, none might be forgotten. All which they came by and received as gifts,

Injc cempoalli on caxtalli omvme capitulos vncan moteneoa in cujucjaliztli catca in quonjn muchioia, yoa in juh teconotzaia in vevcintin tlatoque, yoa in pochteca, yn juh noma axcan quichioia.

Auh in axcā ie ic tlamanj yn iquac aca ypampa teconotza yplizain, ie mitoa tlaquatequia, tlaquatequiloia tetlatlaquaililo, can ie muchioia, can ie juh coatioia, can ie juh teconotzaloia yn oc cequj ypan coaoiotl, tetlacamachiliztli, tetemoliztli.

Ic can njcan tepion onmonextia in teconotzaliztlatolli, tel in tlanca, im pilpā, im pillovā, tecpilpan, yn anōco cana netlacamachioan, necuiltonoloia, tlatlamepā, im puchitla, in puchtecapā, toltecaiojan, ce-centel injc netquioia, njnc tlamanja, njnc tlamanca, njnc coatioia, netlacamachioa, necoachioalca,

in cana vel moveychioa, vel mdocça, teltzica, cācatzca, sonneaquilo, almiximati, yn tlaconotzali, vel nequequeçalo, nepopotsolo, nezozocolo, ahujc zoquiooa, ācan veli, in netlaliloia, in ieloia, in tetlaliloia,

oc cenca iehoan intequjuh, innecuitlavil, ymiz intequjuh, vel innecuitlavil, vel mixpetztza, mixpetzoa, quimilcaniantia, quinterequippantia, quincōcocoltia in techique, in tetlatique, njnc iehoan vellachia, teiximati, in cāpa iē oallaque coame, tlaconotzali, necoaoia,

iehoan vel quicailhuja, ymiz inca nechioalca, njnc vel namicoque, aiaic ilcozalo, ypan tlatocotiz, much intech aciz, yn nemactiz, yn jnquich ic olattequiloque, in chieitilo, yajin ca oytolce, yemac-

1. In the Real Palacio MS, the words among tlachitlanchapan, taltecapan, follow puchteque.

2. In this, as follows continues.

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43) all the things which had been set aside and placed apart [by the host]—this hath been told. They would be given tobacco; they would be plied with and provided tobacco; they would be plied with and given flowers. They would be feasted; they would be given to drink. They would be plied with gifts—capes, clothing, vestments, mantles, and breech clouts. And after they had rejoiced for a little while, they would be provided with dancing, and they would set out in the sun for them the flowers, the tobacco, the capes, and the breech clouts, in order to meet the obligations of banqueting, lest it be said [of the host] that the guests were slighted and found discontent there.

574 And where, in this manner, there was considerable congregating, one augmented, increased, and multiplied the flowers and edible things. It was as if his nourishing goods rested everywhere, covered and spread over the ground, spread all about; as if the food brought there spread souring; all the tamales became mouldy. Musty were the tamales which had been set out.

574 But there/at the flower places, where the flowers
554 were placed and arranged, the pleasing odor and
fragrance spread to all parts. No one wished to be
defeated or to lose stature. All persons wished^d that
they be given recognition, fame, and distinction; that
they might not, on the contrary, be ashamed, receive
blame, be embarrassed, confused, belittled, con-
founded, or excluded from others. Each and every-
one paid attention to, took great care with, [and]
gloried in his invitations to others. Each and every-
one therefore made him resplendent and admirable,
each one separately proceeding with exclusive and
undivided attention to feasting. They exalted and
raised themselves; they surpassed and much ex-
ceeded themselves. There was vying and competi-
tion.

On the other hand, one might not wish to do it, preferring not to enter into it, and not desiring it, lest his favors should fall away or fail. And if it was not brought about, everyone wondered, was chagrined, and made much of it. This same one, when he learned of it, became troubled and continued in fear^a that possibly his efforts would fail, pass away, or miscarry. O that none might ever speak to him of

que, mîetîncu, yietîlîncu, monochimacîncu, mo-
xochîncu, xochimacîncu, tîacîncu, tîncu,
modatîncu, molîncu, moquentîncu, mola-
cîncu, molatîncu, monochîncu: aui ca-
tîncu yietîlîncu, onchîncu, achîncu, ômitîncu, onla-
tîncu, yn xochîl, yn yietl, yn tîmatî, yn maz-
tîl, ynç conjîncu, coomîl, onchîncu, ynç
amo încu, ca cî molîncu, abîncu.

Auh in cana tel çan ie no yui, vel mowechioha, toa-
catuca mapicquia, tlapiwina, i suchil, in qualonj, iuh-
qujn papichivi, tlalpan aci, tlalpan acimotoca, tlal-
pan acimotoca, yn jcoocachi ipalmenoni, iuhqujn
tlaxoxocoxiactoc, yn ympa oakquia tlaxualli, iquich
pupucavi in tamalli, tamalipupucauhqui, yn to-
maco.

anh in vîmpa yonola, iteôcia, ivipanalozan suchid,
tuhquij tlaveletiximani, dasvazicimani, asic mopa-
tzoallani, asic patzacziintzi icnequi, muchi tlacat
iuh connequi, in ma ca vel onixpatlaca, onteioca, on-
itubalcioa, in maca tie ic domipanalui, ompinaviz-
qui, ompinavizlamati, onomomamati, ontzinguica,
onamixitiquetza, ic tevipca onteicilo, muchi tlacat
cecentel ic quimati, quilamachia, quirevilia, yu iteo-
canotzaliz, muchi tlacat cecehti ic quicuponia, ic
teclamavolgolia, nonôuca mîcubutîuh, mîcubacîauh
in cosot, macotchi, macoquetzîuh, mopanavîuh,
mopanavîutîuh, nepanavîlto, nepanavîlo.

noçaz yn ãconnequy, acõãquinequy, aqũjn maca
quinequy, yn ma vel onvetz, onquça itlocul, aũh
yn siamo muchioa muchi thacul, motẽmati, thẽ-
mati, thaveymati, çan iẽ in quymati, ic motequipa-
choa, q'hmattinẽmi, in quẽmach nezni onquçaz,
contialcaviz ynetquipachol, macaiac tle ic conito-
tiz, craxicoatziz, conpẽmotatiz, onahioz, conpẽpu-
comoniliz.

3. In ibid., 9 ma pu vel omnes prout foliis diei omnesque

4. *Quinacridone* in *ibid.*

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much pre-occupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.⁵ This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or skew, singed, and braised dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a scabbell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis—different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

auh in ie oallathui coatione, nepiclox tecanotzalo, cōca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencalo, vchichicalo, ithoalchichicalo, tlatlaximanalo, tlatlaxtemalo, tlatlacujcujco, tlatemalo, tlatvililo, tlatzelhujlo, tlatxalhuilo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipilota, i vncā netotilo, tlatzelololo, fin ichōi intequjuh inrocal, cocotilo, in cujanime.

auh in cequin tlavivita, totolhuivita, totolchichio, itzcujnmictia, itzcujnchichino, itzcujnchichio, nacachichio, nacapaoci, cōcontlatia, in cequin yietlchichio, yietlaxqualoca, yietema tepacatica, auh in nextitlan, ichoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichio tamalli, piqū, tamalo, tlatlaoicā, quatecuiculli quichio, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichio, cequin tamalpaoci, cequin nextamalpaoca cequin açaçaca, atlacuj, ateteca, cequin cacaoatl quixamanja, cacao-teci, tlatcuechoa, cequin tlanextamalneloa, cequin molchichio, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceioal in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa tozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chalacoatoc,

auh yn otlavizcalloac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çapeçtilli moteteca, motevimoloa, tlatenvimolli, ie ic tlanoc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixquich monenequiz,

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mikania, omotetequipantique, in tlatequipanotque, in tenamiquizque, açocno quen ipā in tecanotzqui, in tecanotzanj, ça ixquich ynecuitlavil in teca muchio, i tepantlatia, in maca omicçacalo, onjçacalo,

5. In 1546, *encomenderos* suffered *desamortization*.

574 Poised and prepared were the tobacco servers, who
357 provided tobacco; the flower servers, who provided
flowers; the servers, those who changed the servings;
the bearers. Then there was the chocolate drink
maker, who prepared chocolate; who made it foam
and froth; and the server of chocolate. Then there
were the attendants, those who greeted the guests.

574 But among those who were only commoners,
among the poor folk, among the workers of the
fields and the water folk, it is already told, only
miserably, in poverty and want, were receptions and
invitations made. Not as much was offered one as
was required and customary; as was possible or of
one's capability. Many things were omitted or
spoiled. Thus [the feast] was a failure and fruitless
when someone received or realized nothing more.
Perhaps only old, withered flowers could he find or
come by; perhaps only leftover, bitter sauces, and
stale tamales and tortillas were offered them.

And if one had been sitting to no purpose and in
vain, [he was] only forgotten there for a long time,
for a considerable time. And when he grew tired of
waiting, he only continued vexing himself, anxious
to go, no longer able to endure it, continuing to stir,
unable to sit anywhere. His seat was benumbed,
stiffened, tired of sitting. So he leaped up, sprang
to his feet, and ran off discontented; because perhaps
whatever was served had come to an end; the ban-
queting had increased and grown in numbers, and
become crowded. And he simply entered various
houses and visited different places, begging and ask-
ing alms at each one, etc.

X 787 In this place is only mentioned Two Vulture,
805 which followed and came in second place after One
Eagle. All these, the companion day signs in the
series, have been chronicled and mentioned here.
Of this, Two Vulture, there is no more need to relate
anything, just to please; to invent, arrange, and
contemplate some brief words. For already hath
been mentioned the manner of the separate accounts
of all day signs in the second [position]. For indeed
all are similar as they proceed and go together there.
Similar are their accounts as they advance in order,
as all the days accompany one another.

805 So here we have only added and mentioned as a
group the different day signs, which went in their
courses as a series, as each day went traveling, follow-
ing along, and changing: Three Motion, Four Flint

ie vncan ie ic hucac yn teyemacac in tryeti, in
terachimacac, in terachiti, telamacac, telanamjo-
nili, tlaspaloque, njmā ie ichoatl yn achimhqui,
aquetsaque, tlaminjiqui, tlaminpani, ycan in trama-
cac, njmā icoan in techisque, in tetlique.

auh in çan macoalpā, in çan jnotlacapā, mlla-
capā, atlacapan, ie omjro çan coocacatī, icnoetica,
icnotiacotica, in tetlacamacho, in tecosnotzalo, amo
cenca ontetaxio yn juh monequij, in ie ivi, in ie vel
ivi, in ie teveli, mjic tlamanili mjicaco, ytlacavi,
ic tlathacavi, tlilatlacavi, yn aca aoc tle ipan aci, aoc
tle ipan mopoca, aco çā xuchicollī, tlacrevilli yn
ipanti, in quipantilia, yn ipā mopoca, ycan aco çā
mollacaoalli, molchichictli, tamalçollī, tlaxcalçollī, yn
nemaquillilo,

auh intla çā ec nē tlalilo, nempancatlililo, vecaul-
tica, ieatica, çan vnci ylcacalo: auh yn çimopatlac,
çā moteretica, yiollo cholotica, injc iaz, aocmo ontia-
iccoo mocueptuicemj, achcan vel motialia, izintepitz-
quiquauhti, quiquauhtica, izintepitzquiquauhti-
tica, ic choloteco, moquetzico, motlavelalaco, ypam-
pa aco ocliatlan, acaçoc tle temacomj, omiequix, oco-
nacat, omoquequez in tlacanoztalli, ycan in çan ca-
calacuj, tetlatlapalo, motlatiavi, motlatiarij, et.

Nican çā onnoteneru in vme concaquauhtli, in
contequilia, in conconcoxia ec quauhtli, yn jexquich
in, ic omotlatlolloi nican omoteneuh, njic cenca-
pan thrica tonalli, yn ichoatl y, 2 concaquauhtli,
aocmo monequij yn itla ic motlatloloiz, in çā omo-
qualittaz, onmovelittaz, onmopipiquiz, onmovel-
laliz, itlatlatlotontli, çā ie onoteneuh in quenamj
intlatlollo izquich ðvme tonalli, çā çan ie znuh
ihquij, çan much vmpa itzivi, çan much vmpa tla-
vica, çan ie cteitl yn imitoloca, yn juh teterpastivi,
njic tlavica cecemilhujtl,

ypampa in çā njcā, tiqumontecpichea, tiqumō-
centeneoa yn izquitene in tonaltl, in njcā cencaipan
tlacatlotica, njic cecemilhujtl motzini, motequili-
tvi, mopatlivi, in ichoatl Ey olin, 4. tceptal, 5. qij-